DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 053 378 AC 010 561

AUTHOR	Moses, Stanley
TITLE	The Learning Force: A More Comprehensive Framework for Educational Policy.
INSTITUTION	Syracuse Univ., N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	Occas Pap-25
PUB DATE	Oct 71
CONTRACT	OEC-1-7-070996-4253
NOTE	42p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Library of Continuing Education, 107 Roney Lane, Syracuse, N.Y. ($1.25)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education, *Conceptual Schemes, *Educational Development, *Educational Policy

ABSTRACT

The educational system, i.e., participation in elementary, secondary, and higher education, is referred to as the Core. As the nation has developed economically and socially, the system has continually expanded, and the focus of educational planning has been that education is a necessity and the more one has of it the better. The Learning Force refers to all those participating in educational activity - in the Periphery as well as the Core. The Bureau of the Census conducted a study of participation in adult education, which concluded that "in October, 1957, 8.3 million, or 7.8%, of the adults in the United States were estimated to have participated in adult education classes at some time during the preceding year." A new conceptual framework for the formulation of educational policy must include not only those programs in the Core, but also the variety of alternatives presented in programs in the Periphery and in other more informal types of learning activities. (CK)

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OCC NUMBER 25

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by STANLEY MOSES

Syracuse University
PUBLICATIONS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION

AC 010 561

A Publication in Continuing Education

Syracuse University

Melvin A. Eggers, Chancellor
Alexander N. Charters, Vice President for Continuing Education
Doris S. Chertow, Editor, Publications in Continuing Education

The original report, from which this essay was derived, was prepared pursuant to Contract No. OEC 1-7-070996-4253 with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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by
STANLEY MOSES

Research Fellow
Educational Policy Research Center
Syracuse University Research Corporation

OCTOBER 1971

Syracuse University
PUBLICATIONS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION

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78-171882

ISBN Number: 0-87060-044-3

Syracuse University Publications
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Introduction

Regardless of the appellation used to describe the vast and rapid process of social and economic change taking place in the United States today--"post-industrial society," "service society," "knowledge economy," "organized society," and others--there exists a general consensus that the world before us is very different from the world of the past. Only some of the oft-cited characteristics of the emerging social order can be listed here: large increases in per capita wealth; an increase in technological innovation and diffusion; exponential growth in the stock of knowledge; a decrease in the proportions of unskilled workers accompanied by large increases in professional, technical, and managerial personnel; a growth in leisure time with the opportunity for either earlier retirement or successive participation in a number of careers during the span of a single lifetime; the increasing importance of service industries; and a more rapid rate of occupational obsolescence.

Knowledge is, increasingly, power. It provides the individual worker with the capacity not only to adjust to change, but to improve his productivity while doing so. It provides him with the capability for surviving technological change while continually improving his position. While knowledge has always been a source of power, in modern society this is true for larger proportions of people than ever before--a development evidenced by the rapid growth of professional, technical, and managerial personnel.

The road of recognized, accredited, and certified access to knowledge is the organized, established educational system; a key source of power in modern society. It dispenses the certificates and credentials which have a great effect upon future occupation, income, and status. Although traditionally left outside the purview of political research and analysis, education is politics--a fact that has attracted marked attention in recent years. It represents the single greatest non-defense expenditure of public funds. It represents a major area of social mobility and status change. It is at the center of the recurring debates and battles over the allocation of public resources. And it is at the center of the social and political struggle of the poor to improve their position in society.

In modern society, the formal educational system has served as the transmission belt of the social engine. It has sorted, selected, and

certified its students prior to their absorption into the social order. Demands for the performance of this function are likely to accelerate as society becomes increasingly complex and organized. Changes in the occupational and social structure will place greater demand upon the educational system to produce the kind of products who will be able to fit in, and to make that machine which we call American society run. But resistance to these demands is also likely to increase. For the trend of modern society is away from routine and compulsion and toward more personal choice among a larger array of alternatives. At the heart of this conflict is the educational system which has developed in the United States during the past century--a huge apparatus which has dominated the market for educational services and goods and monopolized the access to public resources. The question remains whether this organized, mostly publicly subsidized system is able to meet the requirements of modern society.

Our changing economic structure offers the opportunity to devise an educational system more responsive to human needs. But there are many obstacles. Organized and established institutions and practices have a way of prolonging themselves far beyond their time. And around education, as with all social activity, there has developed an established, entrenched bureaucracy and network of interests and satisfactions that do not look with favor upon any alteration of the status quo which might reduce their influence and power. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the regular public debates over resource allocation, where little attention is paid to forms of educational activity that might accomplish or achieve social objectives and satisfy personal goals in a way not afforded by traditional programs.

While concept obsolescence affects all our measures of social change,[1] in education there has been a particularly great deficiency. Information about education which is not a part of the "educational system" has regularly been excluded from the information reporting activities of the Office of Education. Furthermore, there is evidence that this approach dominates the views of other agencies and activities of government. One example is a study recently issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Toward a Social Report.[2] Its purpose was to lay the groundwork "to prepare a comprehensive social report to the nation with emphasis on the development of social indicators which will measure social change and be useful in establishing national goals."[3] A chapter was devoted to "Learning, Science and Art" and the question

of "how much are they enriching society?" But nowhere in this chapter is the concept of education extended to include the existence or possibilities of alternative modes of institutional arrangements and instruction outside the core. No heed is paid to devising indicators of the true dimensions of educational activity in the nation, nor to "establishing national goals" for the future performance of a more comprehensive educational system.

The challenge to public policy in the future will be to innovate new programs and experiences which will yield opportunities for growth and development not afforded by the traditional educational system. Central to this challenge is a rethinking of the content, purposes, and meaning of organized education. Does education refer only to the kind of activities represented in the Core--the sequential ladder of educational progression ranging from kindergarten through graduate and professional schools? Traditional concepts have focused upon education as an activity engaged in by children or youth as a preparation for life prior to entering the "real" world. A more flexible system would be organized around the changing needs of adults, as well as youths, for both education and direct experiences.

Our view of education has been restricted to a consideration of those activities in the Core. Ignored are the variety of activities engaged in by millions of learners in the Periphery--educational activities ranging from vocationally oriented programs in business, government and the military, proprietary schools, and anti-poverty programs, to culture and leisure oriented programs available through regular Core institutions, religious education, television, correspondence courses, and private associations. Our concept of what education is has been both restrictive and exclusive, ill-suited to the changing needs and demands of today. What is needed is a fresh look at other forms of education outside the traditional system and the ways in which they can contribute to public policy and educational planning--planning which will start with the needs of people and not institutions; which will focus on those who are served and not the professionals who control the service.

It is my contention that the information we are accustomed to receiving on the "educational system" is inadequate. It fails to describe organized educational activity in modern America. The components of our information, that vital source for public decision-making, are vast, and of an uneven quality. In some areas, where there has been

historically a greater governmental concern and involvement, we possess a comprehensive series of indicators over time. But the nature of our changing social reality often compels the realization that the indicators which suffice for the needs of one time become outmoded for the reality of another. Our data, regardless of their impressive technical array, cannot transcend the limitations of the conceptual framework which guides their collection.

The traditional concerns of educational planning--emerging out of the problems confronted by a developing industrial society--have been with the development of large systems of public instruction to serve both the "demand for places" and the manpower skill requirements of the economy. As this demand was met at one level, say, the grade schools, concern shifted to the next "crisis,"--how to provide spaces at the next level for those larger numbers preparing to enter. Education was structured as a sequential ladder of educational achievement, with initial access made available to all. The terminal points were to be determined by a combination of factors such as individual choice and interest, economic means, and the creation of opportunity through the provision of sufficient places to absorb demand. Educational planning thus focused solely upon the inputs required for the building of the system. This has resulted in an emphasis on

> . . . those statistics which are required to project or to plan in the medium and the long term, the main magnitudes in the educational system--pupils, graduates, teachers, buildings, costs, expenditures.[4]

The focus of educational planning up to now has been upon what we have referred to as the "Core." These are the activities which provide the major certifying processes for the larger society, fulfilling the mandate of sorting out and stamping attainment ratings prior to transmitting finished products to the labor markets. It is in these activities that the resources of society are committed to the greatest extent, rivaled only by the defense expenditures of the Federal Government; amounting to 40 per cent of the direct expenditures of state and local government.

Voluminous data about the Core have been amassed to satisfy the requirements of traditional educational planning. Hordes of trained personnel ply their trades, turning out vast quantities of information at various governmental and private information agencies. But the question remains unanswered: are Core activities necessarily, or by inference from dimensions of participation and expenditures, the only

places where people learn? Our data reveal much about "educational attainment"--i.e., years spent in the Core. But they do not allude to the fact that perhaps the most significant learning experiences in society occur outside of the "schooling system" of the Core--both in informal learning situations in the home, through the media, through travel, cultural enrichment, and just live experience, in addition to other more formal learning activities. These "other" activities occur in what we have defined earlier as the "Educational Periphery."

Let us now examine both these educational areas--the Core and the Periphery--out of curiosity as to the truer dimensions of the "educating system," and also to be guided by the dictum that "any form of training which is in any way a substitute for education provided by the public authorities should come within the purview of statistical knowledge of these authorities."[5]

The Growth of the Core

"School is an institution for drilling children in cultural orientation,"[6] states Jules Henry in describing the functions of American schools. But schools are also more than that. They are the "social sieve" of a complex, organized society which establishes forms and procedures for differentiating its members, for labeling and certifying them for transmission and absorption into the larger society. For while all children participate to some degree in Core activities, there is a great difference in the point at which they disembark from the educational ladder and enter the larger social scene. And at the point at which they disembark, their "educational attainment" is, to a large degree, a determinant of their future occupation, income, and status. "Educational attainment" is here not to be confused with what is learned. Regarding that, we can state very little with any degree of certainty. Educational attainment very simply refers to years of school completed. Regarding this statistic, a great deal is known. It alone accounts for a large degree of differences among people.

Table 1 demonstrates the high degree of correlation existing between years of formal schooling and subsequent lifetime income. We have only included data from age twenty-five onward since this is the time at which the great majority of those participants in the Core have terminated their participation. These aggregate figures do not reveal the differential significance of education among selected groups of the

population, such as blacks. Neither is the differential impact of increments of education clearly demonstrated. What is clear is that in all instances, the greater the degree of formal schooling, the higher the subsequent lifetime income. The educational system has served as tne processor belt of American society, and it is to the growth of that system and the educational attainment of the nation's population that we now turn our attention.

TABLE 1

LIFETIME INCOME OF MEN, BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED: UNITED STATES, 1956 to 1966 (in thousands of current dollars)[7]

Years of school completed	1956	1961	1966
	Income from age 25 to 64		
Elementary:			
Less than 8	$107	$125	$154
8 years	146	169	203
High School:			
1 to 3 years	166	193	240
4 years	199	225	282
College:			
1 to 3 years	232	273	333
4 years or more	311	361	451
5 years or more	NA	380	479

The Office of Education, established in 1867, has since 1870 issued regular statistical reports on the "educational system"; that is, participation in elementary, secondary, and higher education. This system we will now refer to as "the Core." The Digest of Educational Statistics has been published annually since 1962 by the National Center for Educational Statistics of the Office of Education in Washington. It posits that "its primary purpose is to provide an abstract of statistical information covering the entire field of American education from kindergarten through the graduate school . . . The Digest should prove useful to persons interested in the nature and scope of education in the United States and in particular to those individuals who are concerned with the formulation and conduct of public policy." The following descriptions of education in America emerge from this portrayal.[8]

As the nation has developed economically and grown more complex socially, the educational system has continually expanded. The history of the nation is a chronicle of a lengthening educational span with earlier admissions and later exits and a longer school year with

elementary and secondary students spending more than twice as many days in school as they did a century ago. Tens of millions of children now attend institutions where attendance is compulsory for all, while additional millions continue on to levels which had previously been restricted to the select few.

Table 2 portrays the large absolute growth of the educational system during the past century.

TABLE 2

THE EDUCATIONAL CORE (1870 to 1970)[9]

	(millions)				
	1870	1900	1940	1965	(Projected) 1970
Kindergarten		.2	.7	2.5	3.0
Elementary	6.8	16.0	20.5	33.3	34.3
Secondary	.08	.7	7.1	13.0	15.0
Higher Education					
Undergraduate	NA	.2	1.4	4.9	6.5
Graduate	NA	.006	.1	.6	.8
	6.9	17.1	29.8	54.3	59.6

The different parts of the system have not grown simultaneously, but rather have experienced their greatest growth at different times. There has occurred a process of sequential expansion of different parts of the system. First, at the turn of the century, large growth at the elementary level was universalized through the nation. Then, secondary enrollments grew as the push for education extended to "high schools." And finally, the latest phenomenon, occurring since the end of World War II, has been a great rise in "higher education."

The figures by themselves reflect the huge absolute increase of the system, but do not present a picture of the internal processes at work. The American population has grown greatly during the past century, ensuring a larger supply of potential participants in the Core, but that alone is an insufficient explanation of what has been happening. Not only are millions more participating in the Core, but a far greater proportion of each age group is doing so. In broad strokes, Table 3 portrays the changing rates of participation among various age groups in the population. While rates of participation have been rising for all age groups, they have been rising at different points in time; and for some groups, the rate has risen to the point where it can go no

higher, the point of universal participation. This leaves only five-years-olds, and the 18-24 age group (representing the greatest number of eligible participants in higher education) as the areas of greatest future growth in the Core--not considering other areas of possible expansion, such as pre-primary and infant education.

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATION IN THE CORE, BY AGE GROUP (per cent)[10]

	1870	1900	1940	1950	1964
5-17	57.0	71.9	84.4	83.2	85.5
14-17	NA	11.4	73.3	76.8	91.8
18-21	1.7	4.0	15.6	29.6	38.1
18-24	1.1	2.3	9.1	16.5	23.3

Not only has there been a cumulative growth in absolute numbers participating in the Core, but there has simultaneously occurred a significant increase in the percentage completing each particular level of the ladder.[11] Table 4 demonstrates the dramatic rise in absolute enrollments among successive generations of students, followed by the increase in percentages of each generation receiving diplomas or degrees.

TABLE 4

EMPLOYMENT AND DEGREES IN THE CORE 1870-1968[12]

	Enrollment (Number of Students)		
	1870-71	1899-1900	1968-69
Secondary	80,000	520,000	14,100,000
Undergraduate	52,000	230,000	6,700,000
Graduate	1,000	6,000	750,000

	Per Cent of Each Generation Receiving Diploma or Degree		
	1870	1900	1968
High School Diploma	1.8	6.3	79.0
B.A. Level Degree	1.4	1.9	23.0
Graduate Level Degree	0.1	0.1	5.0

Within the general picture of growth depicted above, there emerge a number of regularities which pervade the system. The relationship between high school completion and college entrance has remained fairly

stable over the past century, and so has the relationship between college entrance and college completion--the major variations occurring during periods of war and depression. The figures for both of these have been about 54 per cent, resulting in a college completion rate for high school graduates of 29 per cent.

The fact that a fairly stable percentage of high school graduates complete college undermines many general perceptions regarding educational growth. It has always been taken for granted and stated as obvious that the numbers of those attending and completing college is continually rising. But this "obvious" observation and assertion has neglected the source of that demand for higher education--high school graduates. It is not that a larger percentage of high school graduates are attending and completing college. Simply stated, it is, rather, that there are just more of them. It is this large increase in the number of high school graduates which has provided the greatest impetus to the growth of higher education. But there is a limit to any future increase to be expected from this source. The percentage of each generation receiving a high school diploma rose from 1.8 per cent in 1870 to 79 per cent in 1968. Although participation in high school is now almost universal, the rate of completion still allows for some amount of growth, although it is doubtful that it will go very much higher. The rise in this rate has been considerable during the decade of the sixties, with greater attention of public policy to the problem of the high school dropout. There have been various efforts directed at encouraging youths to stay in school and obtain the diploma. But it is questionable whether traditional strategies of encouraging high school completion will succeed with the remaining 21 per cent of the eligible population who still do not obtain the diploma. It seems likely that intensive and specialized attention would first have to be given to this group before it could serve as a source of additional possible future demand for college entrance.

The foregoing indicates that the sources of past growth in higher education have dried up and that growth in the future will be a factor of encouraging either a higher rate of participation among high school graduates and/or a higher rate of completion on the part of college entrants. This suggests that the American educational system may have reached a point of maturation in its process of development, inasmuch as the high school completion rate has nearly reached its higher limits and population increase is not expected to affect this outcome. On the

contrary, it is anticipated that during the coming decade the recent decline in elementary enrollments will be reflected in a decrease in high school enrollments. There are certain regularities, however, in the growth of the system which tie college entrance and completion directly to the number of available high school graduates.

This concept of maturation is opposed by a belief that has traditionally dominated the American ideology of education--namely, that education is a necessity and the more one has of it the better. Given the social status and economic advantages associated with higher education, it must be anticipated that the prevailing tendency will be in the direction of universalization of higher education opportunities for all, which will result in significant increases in rates of college entrance and completion. Allied to this idea are various notions regarding the shifting relationships between education and career, which presume decreasing employment opportunities for those with lesser skills and education (the two often being assumed as coincidental) and again a consequent expanded demand for higher education.

Such alternatives provide stimulating points of departure for conjuring up consideration of future developments in the Core. But each view, when stated in prescriptive rather than analytic terms, presents contrasting ideologies as to the role of the educational system, the worth of formal education, the necessity for higher education, and prescriptions for public policy regarding the future subsidization of education. The analysis of past growth raises a number of questions along these lines--regarding policies for the remaining 20 per cent who have not attained a high school diploma, the future development of "higher" education as regards both the different components of the existing system, and the larger question of what might be the character of alternative forms of post-secondary educational activity. Related questions concern the participants, or perhaps beneficiaries, in the system, and the allocation and distribution of social benefits--who will participate in what form of education, at which time in life, and in what sort of institution? Now that that system has "matured" (if we accept even partially the import of that argument), in what direction will future growth or developments most likely take place? Is educational policy solely to be concerned with extending further the educational ladder of sequential progression, or are there other alternatives outside the traditional system that might provide a larger framework of choice for policy makers and individuals?

The Challenge to the Core

I have pointed out the dominant focus of educational planning as it has developed in our industrial society and suggested that some of the major goals of this orientation have been attained. The creation of facilities, the "supplying of places," the provision of access and opportunity to increasingly large numbers of the population--these are some of the undisputable achievements created in our industrial society. But to say that these enormous problems of supply and support have been dealt with is not to suggest that there are no problems left for educational planning. We can ignore for the moment the great progress which still must be made in many areas, such as the poor, various minority groups, and the regional disparities existing in the nation. Solutions to problems often only lay the basis for the emergence of even bigger problems. While the earlier challenges to planning in an industrial society centered around the building of the system, the challenges emerging today present the even more vexing demand for providing substance for those no longer satisfied by the mere provision of places.

American educational ideology has enjoyed a phenomenal success--never so proclaimed and heralded as when two former school teachers occupied the highest offices of the nation, presiding over the greatest outpouring of legislative enactments supporting education ever recorded. This ideology has equated schooling with education and learning, and has measured progress in terms of the "educational attainment" referred to earlier. This ideology has drawn sustenance from the well spring of democratic thought regarding the relationship among an educated citizenry, a democratic polity, and the responsibility of government to provide access to education for all citizens. This ideology has justified itself by using the supreme arbiter of American values and purposes--the economic marketplace--to substantiate alleged causative relationships between schooling and earning power.

The myth and mystique of education is undoubtedly a central feature of American political ideology. In a society which has continually proclaimed the existence of equal opportunity for all and disclaimed against hereditary barriers of class or family, the educational system has been seen as the chief vehicle for allowing mobility to all. V.O. Key has described the process in the following manner:

> The ideal of equality of opportunity vests in the American educational system another function of deep significance for the political order. In a

> rigidly structured society vertical mobility is apt to be slight: the sons and daughters of each social class "inherit" a status . . . The philosophy of American education proclaims that each young person shall have an educational opportunity to develop fully his abilities--a doctrine that is part and parcel of democratic theory. Jefferson, hence, was not out of character as a democratic theorist when he proposed an educational system to skim off at various educational levels persons of genius and provide further training for them at public expense. 'The object,' he said, 'is to bring into action that mass of talents which lies buried in poverty in every country, for want of the means of development, and thus give activity to a mass of mind, which, in proportion to our population, shall be the double or treble of what it is in most countries.' Such a doctrine, revolutionary in its day, provides a basis for an educational system that serves as something of an escalator for the social system. Even though upward mobility is in substantial degree an article of faith rather than a fact, the faith has real political significance.[13]

But the success of the ideology brings within its wake even greater challenges to the viability of the system. For where all have access, access alone is no longer treasured. When diplomas and degrees are not the distinguishing characteristics of an elite, it is futile to pursue them for that purpose. When all conceive of schooling as a right, there is less pride solely in its gain. The challenge to educational planning in an advanced industrial society is no longer the construction of the system. Now that the great institutional structure of education has been created, talk of growth alone fails to serve as a sufficient justification for planning.

By focusing upon the challenges and criticisms of the Core, I do not mean to deny the great positive contributions the educational system has made to American society. I believe that the system has afforded greater opportunity and mobility to more people than has been available in any other large industrialized nation. It has been a major unifier of the American nation, providing not only the usual facilities for acculturation but also the major social mechanism for building a pluralistic society. It has furnished a common meeting place for all the diverse immigrant groups who otherwise would have had no contact with one another. Accepting these virtues as given, however, we proceed to question whether past glories and accomplishments are sufficient to the needs and demands of a rapidly changing and far different society. Does the type of society which now exists, and the

perceptions we have as to likely futures, create a basis for a different approach to education and the "educational system" on the part of social policy and educational planning?

The Learning Force: A Comprehensive Approach to Educational Participation

There has been much discussion and writing of late that the United States is currently entering (or perhaps has already arrived at?) a stage in its historical development unique from any preceding stage or from any occurrence elsewhere in the history of man. Characteristics of the social order believed to be emergent have been described in the first section of this paper. Our interest here is in speculating whether factors of economic and social change have produced a social structure which opens up new challenges and possibilities for educational planning.

Daniel Bell has described three dimensions to what he labels as a "post-industrial society," with the third appraised as most important:

1- A shift from goods to services;

2- The emergence of a large-scale professional and technical class;

3- The centrality of theoretical analysis as the source of innovation and policy analysis in society.[14]

The creation of a large professional class together with the rapid creation and diffusion of new knowledge results in a more rapid rate of obsolescence of existing knowledge and skills. In an environment of dynamic change, knowledge and skill become more important than ever before to individual success and achievement. Bell's contention is that while property was once the major indicator of status, with access to it determined primarily by inheritance, skill has now replaced property as the critical indicator and education has replaced inheritance as the mode of access. The traditional approach to education is no longer adequate to deal with the needs of a society where knowledge and skills change so rapidly as to make continuing education neither a luxury nor an indulgence--but a necessity. In addition, changes in the occupational structure, the amount of leisure and, most important, the level of education of the general populace, all serve to augur a rising demand for education at different periods of life, both for work and more general cultural and leisure purposes.

All of this seems to suggest that, for the first time in history, society will be confronted with the question of how to plan for--or at least to develop the possibility for--educative uses of time by the general population of adults. This relates to needs brought about by the changing relationships between work and education. It also relates to creating opportunities for a large mass of society whose members, as we have already noted, will have more time away from work than ever before and who will present a potential audience for education larger than the population catered to by the traditional educational system. The challenge to social policy will be to devise new alternatives for the education of adults both within and outside the regular system. The realities of new developments in knowledge creation and dissemination indicate that people will be learning in a variety of places--in the home, the school-room, the work place, in different groups and associations; through a number of different means--radio, television, correspondence, video tapes, computer-assisted instruction. Some of these developments will involve classrooms and more formal programs of instruction. Other programs will be no less structured, but will encompass learning experiences of a more individualized nature, such as computer-assisted instruction or video tapes.

The "Learning Force" refers to all those participating in educational activity--in the Periphery as well as the Core. This concept was first developed by Professor Bertram Gross who defined it as "the total number of people developing their capacities through systematic education; that is, where learning is aided by teaching and there are formal, organized efforts to impart knowledge through instruction."[15] The use of the term "learning" should not be taken as a suggestion that we are assessing the amount of learning taking place in society. The Learning Force does not necessarily refer to all those who are learning, nor does it imply that all those in the learning force are learning. Little is known in this area. Our emphasis is upon participation in such activities as are organized and structured for the purpose of aiding learning.[16]

The Learning Force simply extends our traditional framework for recording educational participation. In doing so, it enables us to understand more realistically the dimensions of the American educating system in terms of not only educational enrollments, but also educational expenditures and employment. It provides a broader framework for the examination of where and when education takes place and what

sorts of alternatives to the Core already exist that might be considered as alternatives for both individual and policy choices. The nonrecognition of the Periphery by public information agencies has abetted their non-consideration as alternatives for educational policy. This is but another example of the way in which our understanding and conceptual framework guide our collection of data, which in turn restrict us to the formulation of policy oriented only to the set of activities represented in the data. It is to the neglected area of The Educational Periphery that we now turn our attention.

The Periphery: Areas of Neglected Activity

The activities in the Periphery are a kaleidoscopic representation of the variety of American society. They include educational activities offered in all places where adults are employed--in agriculture, private business, and industry; the military, and civilian government at all levels; the entire potpourri of programs sponsored by the vast number of private associations; national welfare organizations, professional training societies, and specialized programs for adults carried on in regular educational institutions. They include the new "educational system" of manpower activities carried on by government at all levels, primarily through the subsidization of the Federal Government. They also include programs conducted by "proprietary" and correspondence schools, and programs of organized instruction through educational television.

The major criterion for inclusion is that these activities involve participation in learning activities through an organized, structured learning situation. Excluded are those "educational" activities such as visits to museums, libraries, and botanical gardens; participation in political campaigns and religious services; attendance at various forms of cultural entertainment; and learning through the instruction of a private tutor.

Our criteria for inclusion, while broader than traditional conceptions of education, are somewhat narrower than that of some research. In his work on the "knowledge industry," Fritz Machlup examines five major categories of knowledge: education, research and development, media of communication, information machines, and information services.[17] Michael Marien's study of the "education complex" focuses upon "all organizations and parts of organizations involved with the provision of

formal instructional services that purportedly enhance the learning process of students."[18] Our interests converge with Machlup and Marien in the "focus on those forms of education where learning is aided by teaching . . . where there are systematic efforts to disseminate knowledge by way of instruction.[19] But our concern is more restrictive in that we avoid consideration of aspects of education which Machlup considered in the home, the church, and the general services of public libraries. I also do not include those informal activities which Marien analyzes in his view of the "educational complex." The reason for excluding these activities is because we are less interested in determining the "entire system" of educational activity than we are in mapping out a new conceptual framework for the consideration of educational planning and public policy.

The complexity and variety of the Periphery and the lack of attention by public information agencies results in a great gap between the accuracy of our knowledge about the Core and the Periphery. There exists no detailed accounting of the Periphery, although numerous efforts have been made to approximate the dimensions of specific activities. This difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that these activities vary greatly, both as to the variety of institutional sponsorships and as to the nature of the time commitment involved--from short courses involving a few days of attendance to more lengthy programs involving even more hours of instruction than Core programs. There also exists a good deal of double counting in that people may participate in more than one program.

While our information on the Periphery remains scant, unreliable, and contradictory, lacking any centralized, systematized, and regularized reporting, a number of attempts have, nevertheless, been made to gauge the extent of this activity. Malcolm Knowles in his study of adult education in the United States published the following set of estimates, based on a follow-up of work done in 1925 and 1934 by Morse A. Cartwright and in 1950 by Paul L. Essert:

TABLE 5

ESTIMATED PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION, 1924-1955[20]

Types of Program	Enrollment (in thousands)			
	1924	1934	1950	1955
Agricultural Extension	5000	6000	7000	8684
Public Schools	1000	1500	3000	3500
Colleges and Universities	200	300	500	1500
Private Correspondence Schools	2000	1000	1000	1000
Educational Radio and Television	500	5000	6000	5000
Libraries	1200	1000	1500	1961
Men's and Women's Clubs	1000	1000	--	1525
Parent Teacher Associations	15	60	--	350
Religious Institutions	150	200	--	15500
Business and Industry	100	60	--	750
Labor Unions	13	15	--	850
Armed Forces	--	--	250	388
Health and Welfare Agencies	--	--	--	6500
Others	4681	6156	10000	2000
Total	14,881	22,311	29,250	49,508

The Bureau of the Census conducted a study of Participation in Adult Education which concluded that "in October, 1957, 8.3 million, or 7.8 per cent of the adults in the United States were estimated to have participated in adult education classes at some time during the preceding year."[21] The National Opinion Research Center conducted a national survey of the educational activities of the adult population which concluded that "approximately 25 million American adults, more than one person in five, had been active in one or another form of learning during the twelve month period just prior to June, 1962. Fifteen per cent, or more than 17 million persons, had been enrolled in courses on a part time basis, 2.5 million were full time students, and close to 9 million had engaged in independent study."[22] The types of activities engaged in, and the degree of participation, are described in Table 6. Related to this, the study discovered that about 61 per cent of the adults interviewed had participated at some time in an adult learning activity. The study concluded, "that just about as many adults as not

become involved at least once in a systematic attempt to acquire new knowledge, information or skills after they leave school."

TABLE 6

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ADULTS WHO STUDIED SUBJECTS OF VARIOUS TYPES THROUGH ADULT EDUCATION INSTRUCTION OR INDEPENDENT STUDY, 1961-62[23]

Type of Subject Matter	Estimated Number of Persons
1. Job-related subjects and skills	9,020,000
2. Hobbies and recreation	5,470,000
3. Religion, morals, and ethics	3,820,000
4. General education	3,500,000
5. Home and family life	3,440,000
6. Personal development	1,700,000
7. Current events, public affairs, citizenship	1,080,000
8. Agriculture	320,000
9. Miscellaneous subject matter	970,000
Total	29,320,000

Wilbur Cohen has written of the "growing learning force" where ". . . in addition to the regular growing enrollment, there have been dramatic increases in specialized learning activities of a vocational, technical and professional nature."[24] He also wrote that ". . . while valid statistics have not been compiled on enrollments, . . . recent attempts to determine the extent of participation in such learning activities have produced some rough estimates." Cohen presents a figure of 25 million as the total of participants in 1965 in "vocational, technical and professional training outside the formal structure" and 19 million as participating in more general activities of adult education. The figures presented by Cohen were developed in a special research project conducted at his office, during his tenure as Under-Secretary and Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The initial work was done under the direction of Pearl Peerboom and at a later period she was joined by Marilyn Etchison, both attached to Mr. Cohen's staff at HEW. This writer at a subsequent period continued the work of that office in developing those estimates. What follows is a presentation of some of the findings of my study, conducted under

the direction of Professor Bertram Gross, then the Director of the National Planning Studies Program at Syracuse University.

We have in Table 7 divided the Periphery into six major categories. The data indicate that for the year 1965, a total of 44.2 million persons were involved in educational programs conducted in the Periphery. It must be emphasized that this measure does not suggest that participation in the Periphery is of an equivalent nature with that in the Core. Generally speaking, participation in the Core entails a commitment of longer duration involving more hours of formal instruction. Nevertheless, the broad outlines of the portrait presented are suggestive of many things. More than forty-four million Americans in a given year participated in educational programs which were conducted outside the traditional educational institutions and which were at the same time overlooked in the official consideration of educational activity. The existence of these activities underscores the unaccounted and unrecognized dimensions of the American educational system.

TABLE 7

THE EDUCATIONAL PERIPHERY: ENROLLMENTS[25]
(millions)

The Educational Periphery	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	(Projected) 1970	1975
1. Organizational	8.2	10.2	10.9	13.0	14.5	21.7	27.4
2. Proprietary	2.5	3.5	3.5	4.0	7.8	9.6	18.1
3. Anti-poverty	--	--	--	--	2.8	5.1	7.0
4. Correspondence	2.7	3.4	3.5	4.5	5.0	5.7	6.7
5. TV	--	--	--	.01	5.0	7.5	10.0
6. Other adult	3.9	4.8	5.1	6.6	9.1	10.7	13.2
	17.3	21.9	23.0	28.3	44.2	60.3	82.4

In Table 7, "Organizational" education refers to programs, including those not directly job-related, that are conducted by organizations to upgrade the capabilities of personnel. The three broad groupings of organizations are business, government, and the military. The types of programs may involve participation in formal job training sessions, in classroom instruction provided by the employer during the working day, or in programs undertaken outside the confines of the organization but offered to employees under employer sponsorship.

"Proprietary" refers to educational programs sponsored by private training schools which are not part of the "regular" educational

establishment--hence the appellation "special schools" used by the Office of Education. Most such institutions are run for profit. Examples are the National Association and Council of Business Schools and the National Association of Trade and Technical Schools.

Our inclusion of "anti-poverty" programs under a separate heading is a reflection of the great growth during the last few years in educational programs directed toward the poor and unemployed, those who have not benefited from the traditional programs of the Core. A new "educational system" of manpower activities has been instituted by government at all levels, although primarily through subsidization by the Federal Government. While all of the programs in the Periphery strive to impart various skills and knowledge to adult members of the community, most of the people involved have already at least a functional level of educational achievement which has enabled them to compete in the labor market with some degree of success. According to extensive surveys, there has been little participation of the so-called lower classes in adult education programs. The aim of anti-poverty programs is to reach that part of the citizenry which has been excluded from the mainstream of American life--both from successful achievement on the job and from related social and cultural benefits.

"Correspondence" refers to all programs of instruction undertaken on an individual basis or as the result of involvement in an institutional setting. Their primary service has been to individuals who ordinarily would not have access to formal programs of education enabling them to participate in self-directed programs of instruction which often lead to some form of certified accreditation. Correspondence learning takes place in all areas of American life and cuts across the boundaries of all the organizations in the Periphery.

"Television" as a medium for involving mass numbers of people in educational programs represents the new frontier of growth for education. In discussing education via television, we are solely concerned with the activities of those enrolled in programs of instruction presented in a systematic manner and which allow for formal contact between the learner and the program. Our discussion, consequently, does not take into account the vast amount of learning which takes place through programs of educational content.

"Other Adult" represents a residual category. Many of these programs take place in "regular" institutions of the Core, while many are held under a variety of private community auspices: libraries, museums,

the Red Cross, Community Chest, settlement houses, Y's, and national associations such as the Great Books Foundation and Foreign Affairs Study Institute. Business organizations also conduct consumer education and service programs for the general public. Not included in this category are the large numbers of learners involved in programs sponsored by religious groups. Unlike most of the other programs covered, these are culturally oriented and are not directly job-related.

Although the Census Bureau has not undertaken a special study of adult education since 1957, recent steps initiated at the Office of Education have opened up the possibilities of a new survey being undertaken. Morris Ullman, Director of the Adult, Vocational, and Library Studies Branch of the National Center for Educational Statistics has recently completed a sample survey of the adult educational activities of institutions of higher education. Arrangements are currently being made for cooperation with the Bureau of the Census to develop a sample survey of participation in adult education on the part of the entire population. This would represent the first part of a plan to obtain detailed comprehensive information regarding the educational participation of adults.

The Politics of Non-Consideration

In education, as in all social activities, there exists a variet of competing interests which pursue satisfaction in an environment o scarce resources. The lack of recognition accorded programs in the Periphery is a reflection of the power relations and distribution of influence and authority in the American educational system. This results in limited educational innovation and a rigidity of educational structure characterized by institutional forms and procedures that set up boundaries and define individual development in terms of progression along the "regular" ladder. There has grown up an "educational establishment" which has a monopoly over sources of funding, the power of decision-making, and the authority of reward dispensation (as represented in credentials and diplomas). It is in the interests of this "establishment" to limit and downgrade the activities of outside competing interests.

The lack of public information on the Periphery is a reflection of the existing framework of decision-making regarding education. Educational policy has generally focused upon the Core, and the orientations

of public information agencies and policy makers have been restricted to gathering information regarding those activities. The educational system has been defined as one set of activities, and a network of interlocking agencies and institutions has developed on a local, state, and national level, which shares in the determination of educational policy. In an environment of scarce public resources, where their allocation is subjected to competing and conflicting claimants, the question as to which claimants are to be allowed consideration is a critical factor.

When institutions and activities in the Periphery have in fact been considered and funded, they have been subjected to the most marginal and intermittent forms of support--"last to be hired and first to be fired." Although the Directory of Adult Education Organization lists twenty-five member organizations of the Committee (now Coalition) of Adult Education Organizations (CAEO),[26] these organizations, separately or jointly, have never been able to mobilize concerted and effective political pressure to guarantee their programs any source of secure and regularized support. Adult education remains a picture of "institutional insecurity" as depicted by Burton Clark:

> In contrast to elementary, high school, and junior college education, the adult program is a separate, peripheral activity, and its clientele is completely outside the compulsory-attendance age groups. When an adult program is initiated, it must make its way within a family of established programs, contending with the strong, central departments for budget support and favorable treatment. Since its inception, adult education has been, and to some extent still is, a marginal program within the school system.[27]

Clark explains the marginality of adult education as being due to its position in the legal structure of the educational system, lacking any independent separate status; its dependency upon part-time personnel who regard it as secondary to their major occupation; its lack of any of its own separate capital facilities and its subsequent dependence on the loan of regular elementary and secondary school facilities; and its serving as the first target of attack at times of budget cuts and economy drives. While the status and existence of other educational programs are unquestioned and are challenged only as to purposes, objectives, and performances, adult education must continually prove its merit. It is the least favored and most regularly spurned claimant upon educational resources, the "stepchild" of the educational system whose "search for acceptance" is a struggle for security "to achieve a

'peer' position." Although Clark's study was directed at the development of adult education in the public school system of California, his conclusions remain pertinent to understanding the status of the Periphery in the larger society.

Professor Bertram Gross writes:

> People and organizations involved in collecting, processing, and analyzing data are as much weighed down by habit and custom as any other sub-system, sometimes, because of professional fastidiousness, a little more so. Any effort to induce new forms of activity may be perceived as contrary to their immediate interests. A more widespread and long-lasting form of resistance is the active fear on the part of many groups that innovations along this line would impair their power, and new forms of knowledge always suggest a threat to the existing power structure.[28]

Knowledge, itself considered as a neutral, objective matter best left to the higher research and understanding of specialists and "knowledgeables," represents a source of influence which is continually being harnessed for the needs of competing participants. And it is in the course of social combat that knowledge loses its neutral objectivity and becomes part of the arsenal of competing values and interests.

Information and knowledge become part of the institutionalized process of behavior. It is only when change is contemplated that one can begin to sense how and where the interests of the existing order are and, consequently, in what areas of social change one is likely to encounter the greatest opposition. Where resources have been regularly allocated and where satisfied interests and public agencies have developed a network of alliances, any attempts at changing that network will meet with denial, evasion, and postponement.

Biderman, in discussing the difficulties and possibilities of change, mentions a number of factors as affecting the likelihood of any development:

> the articulateness and power of the group whose interest is involved; the susceptibility of the phenomenon to being measured; the extent to which the phenomenon is socially visible, and the preference and skills of the agency personnel who gather statistics.[29]

The lack of information regarding the Periphery may be attributed to the first and last of the above factors. Although susceptible to measurement and socially visible, it has been unable to develop a power base to match that of the Core and has been unable to change its marginality both within the structure of the educational system and as a source of interest to governmental information agencies. Despite

decades of lobbying, its impact has been almost inaudible when contrasted with the demands of other forms of education.

Issues Regarding the Learning Force

I have focused upon educational data which reflect conceptions inadequate to describe the real dimensions of organized educational activity. In spite of the great difficulties presented by this data, its paucity and questionability, the double counting and the lack of comparability, and the dissensus existing among various estimates, the data lead us to the conclusion that there exists a great deal of educational activity which has been excluded from the "educational system" regularly reported by the Office of Education. Having demonstrated the existence of this unrecognized educational activity, the question emerges--so what? Does it really matter? What difference does this demonstration make to our understanding of education? How might educational policy be affected by a greater recognition of the true dimensions of the Learning Force? How might individual choices and satisfactions be enhanced by a consideration of the Periphery? Such matters are not demonstrable or testable within the confines of this paper.[30] But the questions and issues should nevertheless be raised as a first step in pointing out new ways of thinking about education and public policy. What follows are some exploratory thoughts on the subject.

Much has been spoken and written regarding the dimensions of structural change in American society leading to the emergence of a new set of economic relationships. Less clear, however, is the effect which these changes will have on our traditional manners of organization and behavior. One may conjecture about the impact of these changes upon our traditional conceptions of education (even that conception which includes the Periphery). What will be the time sequences of education? Where will people be educated? What will they be taught and for what purposes will they seek education? It seems that American society is entering a period when our notions of occupation, career, work, leisure, and retirement will undergo fundamental changes bound to have an effect upon education.

The current educational system presupposes a ladder of educational attainment upon which all embark, with the different rates of departure determining, to a large degree, subsequent achievement. Education is thought of as a preparation for life, something young people engage in

prior to becoming adults--a state of being which, interestingly enough, is most often ascribed to those who have "finished" their education. Thoughts of the future may have at best the virtue of not being disprovable in the present, but it does not seem far-fetched to think of an educational system constructed around the principle of learning as a continuous life-long purpose with the system offering opportunities for many entrances and exits, depending upon the changing needs and interests of the participants. The vision of the "learning society" (or at least of a society, the majority of whose members participate in formal organized instruction) seems likely to be emerging as a reality of the present day. The number of people participating in the Learning Force now exceeds those in the labor force and the degree of overlap between the two is increasing. More and more adult members of the labor force are participating in education while being employed. As these developments continue, the Periphery will become more important as a provider of educational services. Not only will our concept of when people are educated change, but also our notion of where they learn--in the factory, in business organizations, in the military, in adult associations, via the media, and in special training programs.

Speculation regarding change in the future, stimulating and uplifting though the exercise may be, becomes a vice when roseate presentiments obscure the dynamics of current reality. For it is not simply the inadequacy of our concepts or a dearth of relevant indicators which account for our narrow views of education. It is the conflict between competing purposes and values which compels a disregard of alternative views and possibilities. A vested attachment to past practices encourages and sanctions a resistance to change and innovation. While activities in the Periphery may have much to contribute to a comprehensive approach to educational planning, there is also an inherent contradiction and conflict between the activities and purposes of the Core and the Periphery.

Core and Periphery--Conflicting Systems of Education

Our discussion of the Core depicted the growth of the American educational system over the past century. What was revealed was a system which has gradually extended access to increasingly large proportions of the population. This has occurred sequentially, first with the universalization of elementary schools and, more recently, with the high

schools. Now the growth and expansion of the system has moved on to the next level, higher education. This is a continuation of the tendency toward increased growth and power for the educational establishment, as higher "educational attainments" and credentials become the standardized requirement both for departing from school and for entering the labor market.

If education is viewed as a preparation for life, and if the formal educational system represented in the Core is thought of as fulfilling that purpose, then there is an inevitability of growth and expansion in these activities. Such is the role which the educational system has performed over the past century, as the educational level deemed necessary for respectability has continually increased. This role has been abetted by the practices of the labor market which have continually raised the "educational attainment" required for acceptance into desirable positions. By this process, youth has been sentenced to a minimum term in the school system, with the time of service an arbitrary one which has always shifted upward. Social progress a century ago consisted of a struggle to free youth from the burdens of child labor. While the goal of that struggle has long since been attained, what has resulted is an indiscriminate compulsoriness which dictates that all, regardless of inclination or individual difference, had better tread the ladder of the educational system. Furthermore, penalties for not moving along that ladder are more severe in a "credentialed society" where diplomas are a requirement for employment.

As long as the function of education is conceived in those terms, there is no need to give attention to alternative possibilities. The activities, institutional arrangements, and individual purposes and satisfactions available in the Periphery are a challenge to the very functions and purposes of the Core. Peter Drucker deals with this subject in The Age of Discontinuity,[31] in a chapter entitled, "Has Success Spoiled the Schools?" He sees the challenge to education as one posed by "the imminent conflict between extended schooling and continuing education." His use of the term "continuing education" corresponds to the activities described in the Periphery, while "extended education" refers to activities in the Core. In his view, a major characteristic of a knowledge society is the need for the "frequent return of the experienced and accomplished adult to formal learning." But the traditional educational system does not lend itself so easily to such a shifting of purposes.

> If educators give any thought to the question, they assume we should have both over-extended schooling and continuing education. But the two are actually in opposition. Extended schooling assumes that we will cram more and more into the preparation for life and for work. Continuing education assumes that school becomes integrated with life. Extended schooling still assumes that one can only learn before one becomes an adult. Continuing education assumes that one learns certain things best as an adult. Above all, extended schooling believes that the longer we keep the young away from work and life, the more they will have learned. Continuing education assumes, on the contrary, that the more experience in life and work people have, the more eager they will be to learn and the more capable they will be of learning.[32]

Here lies the conflict between the Core and the Periphery. Much of the traditional thinking regarding education in the Core conceives of education as a preparation for life, as ending with adulthood, and as measurable in terms of the number of years spent in school.

The Learning Force: A More Comprehensive Approach to Educational Policy

The Learning Force concept leads to a contrary view of education. It challenges the basic purposes and goals of the educational system, and brings to the forefront such basic questions as who is to be educated? At what time in life? In what type of programs? For what purposes? It challenges the monopoly which the educational establishment has had over public resources. It poses questions for our traditional measures regarding "educational attainment" and challenges the primacy of credentials as a measure of that attainment. It challenges the monopoly which the educational establishment has had over both public resources and the determination of educational sequences and content. By bringing into reckoning a vast array of alternative educational programs, it presents the possibility for an innovative and creative approach to planning for education which can better serve the needs of both individuals and society.

But to define educational participation in terms of the Learning Force alone is to also restrict and limit our conception of educational participation. Consideration of the Periphery is an advancement over restricting ourselves to a consideration of the Core alone. But the parameters of the Learning Force--"systematic education; that is, where learning is aided by teaching and there are formal organized efforts to

impart knowledge through instruction"--are also restrictive, excluding many other varieties of learning and self-development. To assume that education takes place only where teachers are involved in formal organized efforts is to exclude some of the most significant learning experiences which people have. Education involves far more than the classroom--in either the Core or the Periphery.

The limitations of the Learning Force are pointed out by Michael Marien. Marien develops an overview of the ways in which people are educated in the larger society, focusing upon both the Core and the Periphery (which he extends to include other forms of childhood education outside the Core), and the suppliers and beneficiaries of various educational services to both the Core and the Periphery. The main thrust of his argument is that participation in structured learning situations where teaching is involved should not be a main criterion distinguishing education, but that attention should instead be focused upon "who learns what, where, when?"[33]

The attempt to develop a comprehensive learning environment, which will combine the advantages of formal instruction with all kinds of other learning experiences, is a central element in many current proposals of innovation to reform the Core. An example of this approach is found in "A Design for A New Relevant System of Education for Fort Lincoln New Town." This proposal to restructure the school system of the Fort Lincoln area in Washington, D.C., is conceived out of the conviction that the present system of education was designed for a purpose other than the one it is meeting today and needs to meet in the future. The planners see the challenge as that of developing a "new system based on new goals and new concepts which will bring together all the best components and programs operating in the present system." The essential differentiating characteristics are:

Present System	New System
Screen for college and ministry	Educate all students
Transmit knowledge to passive students	Involve all students in active learning
Learning in groups following preplanned sequence	Individual personal plan
Closed-ended factual knowledge	Knowledge as process and inquiry
Direction and limits known	Search for meaning
Training in the Three-R's	Three-R's plus social and career skills, sensitivity, independence, action, talent
Teacher-directed	Involve community and students in decision-making
Student was assumed to fail, rejected	System accepts responsibility for failure

Present System	New System
Education in classroom only	The total community is the classroom
	All programs are one
New programs added on	All day, all year
Five hours a day; 180 days a year	Education as a life-long activity
Diploma completed education	Education for all people
Education for children	Self-regenerating, dynamic, changing system
Closed loop, static system	
System separate from other community services	System integrated with all community services
Separate school buildings	Education space part of community facilities
Rigid "egg-crate" school buildings	Facilities convertible, flexible, multi-use[34]

Samuel Baskin's proposal for the creation of a "university without walls" is conceived with similar aims in mind.

> This proposal outlines an alternative plan for undergraduate work which can lead to a college degree. It is called a University Without Walls because it abandons the tradition of a sharply circumscribed campus and provides education for students in their homes, at work, within areas of special social problems, at more than one college, and in travel and service abroad. It abandons the tradition of a fixed age group (18-22) and recognizes that persons as young as 16 and as old as 60 may benefit from its program. It abandons the traditional classroom as the principal instrument of instruction, as well as the prescribed curriculum, the grades and credit points which, however they are added or averaged, do not yield a satisfactory measure of real education. It enlarges the faculty to include knowledgeable people from many walks of life and makes use of various new techniques for storage, retrieval, and communication of knowledge. It combines the powerful influence of self-direction with the impact of genuine dialogue. It aims to produce not "finished" graduates but life-long learners. Moreover, this program is so organized that, without impairing educational standards, it promises to cost students less and to pay faculty more.[35]

As an example that such thinking is by no means restricted to the United States, we cite a statement from the prospectus of "The Open University," an experimental university which opened this past year in the new city of Milton Keynes in North Buckinghamshire, England, quoted from an inaugural address by its first Chancellor, Lord Crowther:

> We are open, first, as to people. Not for us the carefully regulated escalation from one educational level to the next by which the traditional universities establish their criteria for admission. Anyone could try his or her hand, and only failure to progress adequately would be a bar to continuation of studies . . . Wherever there is an unprovided need for higher

> education, supplementing the existing provision, there is our constituency . . . We are open as to <u>places</u> . . . We are open as to <u>methods</u> . . . We are open, finally, to <u>ideas</u> . . . That also we take as our ambition . . .[36]

These are but a few of the many attempts at educational innovation aimed towards reducing the gaps between formal and informal modes of learning and also at challenging many of the traditional approaches of the Core system regarding time sequences, accreditation, and credentials. While I do not claim that this will be a dominant thrust of education in the future, the consideration of these alternatives opens up many and different ways in which education might be restructured in the future, enlarging our sense of possibilities for the formulation of a "better" educational policy.

Towards a New Conceptual Framework for Educational Policy

Educational policy in an industrial society has been concerned essentially with the institution and maintenance of the Core. This task has proved sufficient by itself to monopolize the energies and concerns of both educational manpower and societal resources. But we have seen that such an emphasis on the Core will no longer be adequate. What is needed is a rethinking of the ways in which people learn and develop, with greater governmental concern and support for many of these neglected areas. To be sure, such a venture invites a host of new and more complex difficulties regarding the legitimacy of governmental intervention in areas traditionally considered outside the purview of governmental concern and public policy. Advocacy of a broader approach is easily open to charges of stimulating the behemoth of government power and control. But to eschew such a venture because of trepidation about possible outcomes is to deny the very great power that the state currently does have in terms of the "authoritative allocation of values" represented in the creation, subsidization, and rewarding of the existing educational system. Not to look elsewhere for new alternatives to educational policy, out of fear of the unintended consequences that such pursuits would engender, is to avoid responsibility for the existing impacts of policy, albeit they are restricted to somewhat more neutral and numerical concerns regarding the "supply of places" and the manpower needs of the economy.

The existing system has been created through public policy. There are many unintended consequences of that policy which should be

re-examined in the light of new developments in the ways in which knowledge is created and disseminated in modern society. Our traditional approach to education has focused upon schooling as a required preparation for life, with its attendant diplomas and degrees a mark of required distinction for entrance to desirable occupations or professions. A "knowledge society," however, means that the new knowledge is constantly being created at a more rapid rate than ever before and that existing skills must be developed and relearned at various times during a person's life. The concept of education as a terminal activity is inadequate to the demands placed upon individuals in modern society. The idea that the formal schooling system is the major depository of education and learning, while never really true, is now more fallacious than ever.

The notion that the credentials of the school system are an adequate indicator of talent and ability and a sufficient guideline for occupational and status demarcation is being increasingly challenged. Whether one agrees that students are caught in a "credentials trap" or that a consequence of our educational policy is to create a "diploma curtain" which divides and discriminates among those who possess or lack the official schooling credentials, there is no denying the great power which these credentials give their possessors and the disadvantages accruing to those who lack them. As Peter Drucker points out:

> We are in danger of confining opportunity to those--still less than half of our young people--who have stayed in school beyond high school, and particularly to those who have finished college . . . We are thus denying full citizenship in the knowledge society to the large group--15 to 20 percent, perhaps,--who stopped before they could get a high school diploma.[37]

The challenge to public policy and educational planning is to support education and learning within the schooling system and elsewhere, wherever and however policy can aid in encouraging learning, realizing all the while the limitations and harm rendered by conceiving of education as coterminous with and coincidental to schooling.

A new conceptual framework for the formulation of policy must include not only those programs in the Core but also the variety of alternatives presented in programs in the Periphery and in other more informal types of learning activities. The focus of policy must shift away from viewing education as coterminous with the end of adolescence and instead see education as a life-long process which will take place in all areas of society, both inside and outside schooling situations.

The first result of such an approach would be to increase and extend the governmental involvement in education. The growth of the Core took place because of a gradual extension of the levels of education which are supported by public funds. Without this assumption of support, a mass system of elementary and high schools could never have been developed. Lately, concern has been directed towards extending the numbers of years people must spend in formal schooling by implementing universal access to "higher" education. None of these developments would have been possible without the involvement and commitment of public resources. Now it seems that in considering a future governmental role for supporting higher education, the challenge to policy is to conceive of the question as not just one of appropriate degrees of aid to enable all high school graduates to proceed to college, but the broader question of the educational needs of the American population--of adults as well as of children.[38]

The monopoly over credentialization currently enjoyed by institutions in the Core would have to be reduced through the recognition and subsidization of other alternatives as legitimate avenues to personal development. At the same time, for this approach to succeed, action would be required to affect the processes of the labor market and the occupational structure which interacts with and supports the controls and power of the educational system. Public policy would then focus on a set of interrelated factors: reducing the credentials requirement for obtaining desirable employment; restructuring jobs so that employees could have greater access to occupational mobility through the course of their activities and continued education while on the job; and also recognizing and supporting many different educational alternatives outside the regular system.

In the great variety of the Periphery lies its potential for providing alternatives to the regular educational system. Being less subject to institutional rigidities and practices of the past, the Periphery offers the possibility for various new forms of learning and development. Since the activities are not structured as part of a systematized, integrated sequence, access is open to many who would ordinarily be excluded from participating in the Core due to the requirements of most of the regular educational institutions. These activities provide choices for continued learning both in areas directly related to job skills and also in more general cultural and leisure time interests.

A new approach to education would challenge many of the traditional political relationships of our social order. Educational policy would focus upon the basic questions of how learning takes place best, at what time in life, and in what sort of environment. Who should have what kind of education, when, and where? The distinctions between work and education, between public and private education, would be greatly lessened as people would become educated in all sorts of places, wherever it was felt the opportunities existed, regardless of whether the site was the schoolhouse, the factory, the large organization, or direct involvement in various community or work experiences. Public support for education would be extended into places of work, and places of work would also be expected to support education for their employees--thereby upsetting the present pattern of the school system serving at public cost as the supplier of manpower for business and industry. There would then be greater articulation among education, jobs, work, and careers as individuals pick and choose from a variety of educational opportunities at different periods in life to meet different and changing goals.

Footnote References

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2. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Toward a Social Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

3. Ibid., p. iii.

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5. Ibid., p. 231.

6. Jules Henry, Culture Against Man (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 283.

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10. The Digest, Ibid., Tables 4, 29, and 84, pp. 4, 28, and 70, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957. Series H 223-233, H 383-394, and H 316-326 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960).

11. I am grateful to Jim Byrnes of the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse for educating me regarding some of the dynamic relationships of growth which have prevailed in the Core over the past century. For further clarification of these points see, James C. Byrnes with the assistance of Michael Folk, The Quantity of Formal Instruction in the United States: A Report on Phase I of the Post-Secondary Education Project (Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse, January 1970).

12. Table 4 is derived from the work of James Byrnes and Michael Folk on enrollment and degrees in the Core, 1870-1968. See, Ibid.

13. V.O. Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (5th ed.; New York: Crowell Company, 1968), p. 19.

14. Daniel Bell, "Structural Changes in the United States, Base Lines for the Year 2000," November 7, 1967 (Mimeographed).

15. As quoted in Wilbur Cohen, "Education and Learning," The Annals, vol. 373 (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1967), p. 83.

16. The estimates which I present on the Learning Force were gathered during research conducted both at the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse and at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington. Estimates of the Core are derived essentially from Government publications, primarily the Digest of Educational Statistics and Projections of Educational Statistics. Material for the Periphery is derived from a various number of different sources both in and out of government, through many contracts with various private organizations engaged in the organization of educational activities in proprietary schools, correspondence schools, television, general adult education, and business and industry. For a fuller description of sources and the difficulties involved in the use of this data, see Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education" (unpublished dissertation, 1970).

17. Fritz Machlup, The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States (Princeton: The Princeton University Press, 1962).

18. Michael Marien, "Notes on the Education Complex as an Emerging Macro-System," Educational Policy Research Center, Syracuse University, Technical Memorandum No. 5, April 1969, p. 2.

19. Machlup, op. cit., p. 51.

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21. "Participation in Adult Education," Current Population Survey, Bureau of the Census, Circular No. 539 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959).

22. John W.C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 1-2.

23. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

24. Wilbur Cohen, op. cit., p. 83.

25. The Learning Force, unpublished set of tables regarding composition, size, employment and expenditures of the Learning Force (mimeo). These tables were prepared by this writer under the direction of Professor Bertram Gross and were issued by the National Planning Studies Program in collaboration with the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse (no longer available).

26. Directory of Adult Education Organization 1968 (The Library of Continuing Education at Syracuse University, 1968).

27. Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition, A Study of Institutional Insecurity (University of California Press, 1968), p. 58.

28. Bertram M. Gross, The State of the Nation (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), p. 139.

29. Albert D. Biderman, "Social Indicators and Goals," in Social Indicators, ed. by Raymond A. Bauer (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1967), p. 26.

30. Research is currently underway at the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse under the direction of James Byrnes, regarding alternative methods of financing post-secondary education. A central concern of the Center is the way in which a consideration of the Learning Force and especially the activities in the Periphery provide a basis for innovating alternative programs of post-secondary education.

31. Peter F. Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

32. Ibid., p. 323.

33. Michael Marien, "Macrosystem Forecasting: Some Preliminary Comments," Working Draft, Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse, February 1970, p. 2. Also see his Chapter 7, "Relative Expansion of Other Learning Opportunities," in The Education Complex: Emergence and Future of a Macrosystem," manuscript in draft to be published by The Free Press, 1971.

34. "A Design for a New and Relevant System of Education for Fort Lincoln New Town," submitted by Dr. Mario D. Fantini and Dr. Milton A. Young, as a planning document for developing a new educational system in Fort Lincoln New Town in Washington, D.C. This quote is taken from p. 48. A parallel effort is reflected in Michael Marien's chart, "From Yesterday to Tomorrow: The Basic Long-Term Multi-Fold Trend in Education," Working Draft, Educational Research Center at Syracuse, February, 1970.

35. "University Without Walls, A Proposal for an experimental degree program in undergraduate education," submitted by the Union for Research and Experimentation in Higher Education, pp. 1-2 (Mimeographed) by Samuel Baskin, 1970.

36. "The Open University," a prospectus of 1971, a catalogue of the Open University of North Buckinghamshire, England, pp. 16-18.

37. Drucker, op. cit., pp. 331-333.

38. The Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse has embarked on such a venture, focusing upon the "educating system" in terms of the needs of all citizens for education at various periods of life past high school, rather than just the question of conceiving of post-secondary as involving solely the demands of high school graduates for entrance into college at a specific time in life. A number of different papers have been written regarding this matter to which I am indebted in the development of some of these ideas. See especially the work of James Byrnes, Thomas Green, Ralph Hambrick, Michael Marien, and Warren Ziegler.

Other recent Occasional Papers of Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education:

24. LIFELONG LEARNING OR LIFELONG SCHOOLING? A TENTATIVE VIEW OF THE IDEAS OF IVAN ILLICH WITH A QUOTATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, by John Ohliger and Colleen McCarthy. Summarizes writings of the life and thought of Ivan Illich, including Illich's own views on public education and the learning process. Contains 157 abstracts. July 1971 96 pages $ 1.50

23. THE NEW ENVIRONMENT: QUESTIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS, by Robert J. Blakely. Paper written as a result of the Second International Seminar, Pinebrook, September 1970. "New" environments are probed in the social and educational spheres, in communications, and in the changed dimensions of time. February 1971 33p $.50

22. ADULT EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED ADULT, by Darrel Anderson and John A. Niemi. A review of literature in the ERIC Clearinghouse/AE, examining the role of education in altering the personal and social characteristics of disadvantaged adults. December 1970 100 p $ 1.50

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19. ACCENT ON ADULTS: THE SMALL COLLEGE PROGRAM AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE, Myrtle S. Jacobson and Deborah I. Offenbacher. Report of the Small College Program initiated in 1968, which provides opportunity for adults to earn a degree in a liberal arts curriculum tailored to their individual backgrounds and experience. 1970 31 p $ .50

18. MASS MEDIA IN ADULT EDUCATION: A REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE, John Ohliger. Surveys recent writings on the use of communication and print media in adult education. Includes annotated bibliography prepared by the ERIC Clearinghouse/AE. 1968 120 p $.50

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